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inch rifled field gun at exactly \$2,510.60. It pays the private manufacturer \$3,398.82 for the same gun carriage. The Government has manufactured caissons for \$1,128.67, and it has paid private concerns \$1,744.10 for the same caisson. The Government filled one of its own orders for ammunition at its own arsenal which cost \$1,900,064. It saved on this order \$979,840, for it would have cost exactly \$2,879,904 if filled by private manufacturers.

Article.	Purchase price from private firms.	Cost of manufacture at Government plant.	Profit.
3.8-inch common shrapnel	\$17.50	\$7.94	\$9.56
31-second combination fuse....	7.00	2.92	4.08
3-inch finished shrapnel case..	3.06	1.75	1.31
Gun-carriages for 3-inch rifles....	3,398.82	2,510.60	888.22
Caissons	1,744.10	1,128.67	615.43
Order ammunition	2,879,904.00	1,900,064.00	979,840.00

For every fiscal year, at least for a decade, the United States Government has spent upon its navy many millions more than any other nation of the world save Great Britain. For the fiscal year 1914-15, for example, the United States spent upon its navy \$141,872,786. Germany \$113,993,329, France \$123,828,872, Russia \$128,954,733. If in the light of these facts and figures we are not relatively second among the nations of the world, there must be some fault with the patriotism of those responsible for our navy expenditures.

Those who have followed our department, *Peace and War Measures Before Congress*, must have been profoundly impressed by the number of bills providing for armor-plate plants, arsenals, naval stations, military training schools, naval training schools, aviation stations, aviation schools, extensions of navy yards and arsenals, munitions plants and gun-forging plants, many providing for indefinite appropriations, but all reaching the rather significant total of approximately \$300,000,000. Patriotism, preparedness, piffle, pretense, parade, pomposity, puffery, profits, and pork—well, it must be agreed that they alliterate.

Evidence is plentiful that a tremendous amount of money has been wasted upon nearly two hundred garrison posts, the vast majority of which are worse than useless. The War College itself has shown in detail where five and a half million dollars can be saved by concentrating some of these posts, and has frankly agreed that most of the army posts are "unnecessary and obsolete." Certain it is that they have not been located with any view either to invasion or strategy. There appears no explanation of this situation, except that they have been placed where they are, for the most part, that perfectly good money may reach influentially certain Congressional and Senatorial districts. A number of the posts were established years ago for protection against the Indians or to meet conditions which existed half a century ago, and which no longer exist. It would

seem that one of the first steps in any adequate preparedness would be to promote a quicker mobilization of our army than is possible under such a scattered arrangement. But Congressional patriotism will undoubtedly try to keep the posts where they are. If these little groups of soldiers have such a profound influence upon politics, what will be the situation when the National Guard has been increased to 17,000 officers and 440,000 enlisted men, at least 800 men in every Congressional district of every State, all with guns, public funds, the power of setting up court-martials to take precedence over the civil courts, and every guardsman with a vote?

The act or practice of trafficking in the sacred things of the church was called simony. Simony brought on the Reformation and a new ecclesiastical era. The traffic in the sacred things of the State is our modern simony. Our hope is that it will bring on a reformation and a new era of a patriotism purged of the disease of private greed.

PREPAREDNESS PARADES

"PREPAREDNESS" and "Adequate Defense" are purely relative terms. There are few who believe in no preparedness, in defenselessness. There are, however, many whose doctrines approach perilously close to the worst sort of Prussian militarism.

If the meaning of "preparedness" is uncertain, what is the meaning of a preparedness parade? Probably the vast majority of the paraders have not even cared to inquire with any definiteness about the condition of preparedness in this country today. They have heard generalities in abundance, but they have examined little into what our country has to prepare against or into what it is preparing for. Yet by taking their places in the parades that have been so widely exploited and extravagantly promoted, they are virtually signing a petition for more and more military preparedness, for unparalleled increases in our army, and for an annual naval bill of \$240,000,000. They are signing a document of greatest importance to themselves, and to the rest of us, which they have not carefully read.

In the minds of these marching multitudes is patriotism of a kind, of course. Pride in the history of their country is there, and the desire, perhaps, that this nation shall continue to live, that their homes may be protected from destruction. These are good things, handsome things, in measure as they are sincere. If only they were clearly and definitely envisaged, and believed in, they would be noble things. But much of this parade-preparedness-patriotism is futile. If the paraders once analyzed their motives, they would know that it is futile. They are making no real sacrifices to march. They give up nothing, not even a day's pay,

for the privilege of swinging in behind the band. The parades look like a unanimous vote that some one else should "prepare."

Yet it is hard to blame them. Marching is more fun than working at the usual job, especially when the pay goes on just the same. If it were only and simply a parade, no complaint could be made. But as they are advocating something affecting all of us intimately, now and for many years to come, we are all very much concerned.

The acid test of an honest preparedness enthusiasm, if the paraders be grimly certain that our country is really in peril, must be an eagerness to enlist in the army or navy or to offer their services directly to the nation. The patriotism behind the preparedness parade is mainly that of bands, flags, and conviviality, as artificial as it is ineffective.

One wonders what would be the effect if a few banners like the following were to be carried by the marchers? Such banners are truthful, poignant, and appropriate to any sincere demonstration in favor of real preparedness. They embody facts. Let us examine them:

"Nobody seriously supposes that the United States needs fear an invasion of its own territory."—WOODROW WILSON, January 27, 1916.

"This country is not threatened from any quarter. She stands in friendly relations with all the world."—WOODROW WILSON, January 27, 1916.

"There exists today no more efficient institution than the United States Navy."—JOSEPHUS DANIELS, 1916.

"We must abolish pork-barrel methods in the army as regards army posts, navy yards, as regards everything else."—THEODORE ROOSEVELT, May 19, 1916.

"We have the best coast defenses in the world."—General E. N. WEAVER, Chief of the Seacoast Artillery Corps, January 19, 1916.

"No European army will ever be placed on American soil."—General NELSON A. MILES, 1916.

"Our navy is more efficient today than ever before."—Admiral VICTOR BLUE, February 4, 1916.

"Cultivate peace and harmony. . . . Overgrown military establishments are, under any form of government, inauspicious to liberty, and are to be regarded as particularly hostile to republican liberty."—GEORGE WASHINGTON.

In the midst of peace they prepared for war—England, Germany, France, Austria, and the rest—THEY GOT IT.

Edyth Cavell said: "Standing before God and eternity, I realize that patriotism is not enough. I must be free from hate and bitterness."

THE FEARS OF THE PACIFISTS:

Not Wars, but WRONGS.
Not Injury, but INJUSTICE.
Not Blood, but BARBARISM.
Not Death, but HATREDS.

MILITARY PREPAREDNESS carries the GERMS of WAR—SWAT THAT FLY!

We are for ADEQUATE DEFENSE.
What is "adequate defense"?

A SMALL PART of the present ARMY BILL provides for a national guard of nearly half a million men—

Each with A GUN.

Each with PUBLIC FUNDS.

Each with RIGHTS OVER CIVILIANS.

Each with THE VOTE.

NEXT?

MILITARY PREPAREDNESS is an infectious DISEASE. It LEADS to the greatest of all diseases—WAR.

WITNESS EUROPE!

Give us the greatest fortress in the world—
an INTERNATIONAL LEGISLATURE.

Give us the greatest of all dreadnaughts—
an INTERNATIONAL COURT.

There have been no such banners in any of the parades. Newspapers are wholly unwilling to display such sentiments. One wonders why.

LET US MOBILIZE FOR PEACE!

If we would reverse the ancient unwisdom and follow the mandate of wisdom, let us, in time of war, mobilize for peace. In another part of this issue appears an "appeal" from Senator La Fontaine, of Belgium, for "A United Pacifism." For all patriotic pacifists it is, in effect, a call to arms. It is a concrete outline of a few of the tasks that are sure to confront the peace organizations of the world in the immediate future, when peace shall be declared.

Action is needed. Preparedness is in the air. It is continuously, persistently there. If pacifists will only rise to their opportunity and see their problem whole, they can bend even the preparedness enthusiasm to their own great ends. Peace will be declared and new agreements drawn by the nations now engaged in snarling and biting at each other's throats. But a universal peace will not be declared, a lasting or even promising affiliation of nations cannot be effected, by a pure miracle. No *deus ex machina* will descend to give a happy ending to this unprecedented carnage. No "good intentions" nor "international point of view" will defeat forever the repetition of this wholesale massacre. Action, concerted action, persistent, untiring, sustained, intelligent action on the part of every pacifist in the world is the one solution of that problem. And early action!

We favor heeding this "appeal" for concentration and co-operation. Thus only can the miracle be performed; and we may attain the greater miracle only by the performance of the lesser miracle—union among ourselves. We are all striving for world peace—whether our standard be raised for enforced peace or unenforced peace, military preparedness or some form of co-operative dis-